/16 cont./

342 In the building method described by me, however, the
174 circular ground-plan is retained, in spite of the three center posts.
177 According to Koch-Grünberg, the gable roofs and huts with elliptical
ground-plan and others of a square shape owe "their origin obvi-
[114] ously to European influence" (57). On this point I am in com-

57. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22.

plete agreement with the above-mentioned investigator and therefore believe that this maloka built by the Surára, which they modeled after the community house of the Xiriána, actually developed from the Karaiben conical-roofed hut, while the roof represents a borrowing from the civilized world (palm-straw huts of the caboclos). This is also indicated by the construction of the chief's hut within the periphery of the large, open maloka,
[184] which likewise has a gable roof (see p. 29). It is noteworthy, however, that the maloka of the Surára has a height of ten meters, while the round huts mentioned by Koch-Grünberg show
342 a height between 4.20-5.57 meters (58). My question as to why
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58. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 21.

the Surára in the sierra occupy an open maloka and on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá a closed one was answered to the effect that in the higher, cooler region between Demini and Aracá there are practically no mosquitoes, whereas there are relatively many along the riverbank of the Aracá. This explanation is very plausible, for in the closed community-houses of the Indians there are no gnats. They avoid the semidarkness and the smoke of the constantly burning fire.

2. Bridges

501 Boats are not used by the Surára and Pakidái. When, on
484 their narrow forest paths which are scarcely discernible to our
491 eyes, they come to brooks, they simply wade across. In the case of wider brooks which are greatly swollen during the rainy

302 593 /39 cont./ husband beats his wife for reasons of jealousy, he may likewise choose only this marked part of the head. As a further, but 302 825 probably secondary reason, I was told that the short haircut and the tonsure made it easier to control the plague of lice. People with long hair, they thought, were certainly unable to escape head lice.

302 538 The tonsure is also mentioned in religion and mythology. Poré, the lord of the moon, is imagined as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red (see p. 197).

302 191 184 As among many other South American tribes, the tonsure is also a /40/ characteristic feature of all small-sized light-skinned Indians between the Rio Negro and the upper Orinoco, for the members of both sexes of the Xiriâna, Puseheweterf, Aramamesterf, and Karauaterf whom I met also wore it (206).

302 191 114

206. The Brazilian country people designate all Indians with tonsures as Coroados = crowned. Baldus and Willems, however, quite rightly demand that the use of this name be avoided in Brazilian ethnology: "Coroado- Várias tribus de indios no Brasil, por exemplo, os Botocudos, Kaingang, Purí, Bororo, receberam do povo o nome de Coroados, devido ao modo de cortar o cabelo, se bem que êsse modo não fosse igual entre todas elas. Causou êste têrmo grande confusão na etnografia brasileira, razão pela qual deve ser abandonada" /Coroado -- Various tribes of Indians in Brazil, for example, the Botocudo, Caingang, Puri, Bororo, are given the name of Coroado by people, owing to the manner of cutting the hair, even though this style is not the same among all of them. This term has caused great confusion in Brazilian ethnography, and for this reason it should be abandoned/ (Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 67).

/43 cont./

302 174 Since Koch-Grünberg also found only very little body painting among the Xiriâna (Schirianâ) (235), it is to be sus-

235. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

pected that originally it was not peculiar to the three Yanonâmi tribes named, but is to be traced back to Karaiben influences. The following account by Alexander von Humboldt also points to this: "The custom," writes the great investigator, "of painting the body is not equally old among all the peoples on the Orinoco. It has only been since the frequent invasions by the mighty nation of the Caraiben into these lands that it has become more general. Victors and vanquished alike were naked, and in order to be agreeable to the victor, one was obliged to paint oneself as he did and to wear his color. Now the might of the Caraiben is past, they are confined to the region between the Carony, Cuyuni, and Paraguamuzi rivers, but the Caraiben custom of coloring the entire body has persisted; the practice is more enduring than the conquest" (236).

236. A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 92/93.

301 562 i) Feather ornaments

Feather ornaments -- pauxî -- are worn by men only and chiefly on the upper arms, but occasionally also in the perforations of the ear lobes and the lower lip.

301 825 237 Under the upper-arm cords and bands, which serve primarily as fastening devices for the upper-arm ornaments, individual or several tail feathers of the arara vermelha (Ara Macao L.) -- pauxî aratexinâ -- as well as small bunches of feathers, are wedged in front for war expeditions and festive occasions. The latter are always tied with a string of cotton or curauá fibers to a wooden stick 7-9 centimeters long (Ills. 9 and 14). The following list shows which birds are preferred as feather-suppliers for these objects:

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/43 cont./

Pauxí maraxí -- upper-arm ornament of the black-white feathers of the cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.).

Pauxí koikoimão -- upper-arm ornament of the black-white feathers of the gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm.).

Pauxí pararíhonomaíbe -- upper-arm ornament of white breast feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.).

Pauxí marakanã -- upper-arm ornament of feathers of the arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.).

Pauxí xeraÿeramão -- upper-arm ornament of feathers of the papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.) and the papagaio curica (Amazona sp.).

Besides these bunches of feathers which are stuck into the arm cords or bands from the top, /44/ there are also ornaments which are knotted to them and hang down. These are usually several small feathers from different birds, the quills of which have been tied together with a string of cotton or curauá fibers:

Pauxí prukatõba -- Pendant upper-arm ornament of feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.), papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.), and toucan (Rhamphastus sp.).

Pauxí maraxiakosíbe -- Pendant upper-arm ornament of feathers of the cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.) and toucan (Rhamphastus sp.).

Finally, as the most valuable ornament in this category, one should mention upper-arm bindings of mutum feathers -- pauxí pararihés -- to which are fastened hangings -- pauxí manhebéahunque -- of feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.), toucan (Rhamphastus sp.), and jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.), or even skins of these birds. In addition, there are upper-arm bindings which consist only of feathers of the jacamim -- pauxí nhapinhéssi -- with feather hangings -- pauxí pehakossíbe -- from the same bird.

[554] All the feather ornaments listed also represent marks of distinction, for only the chiefs and trusted warriors have the right to adorn both upper arms; younger men, on the other hand, only one.

/44 cont./

301 825 239 Into the pierced ear-lobes there are sometimes inserted small feathers of the anambé azul (Catinga cayana L.) -- pauxí osuemekés --, while a tail feather of the arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) -- pauxí aratexiná -- occasionally adorns the perforation of the lower lip (Ill. 11). These ornamental objects may be used by older as well as younger warriors. [554]

[962] The making of feather ornaments is incumbent upon the men, who, however, do it very superficially. As a result of the wealth of birds in their dwelling and roving areas, however, it is no trouble to renew damaged pieces very quickly.

Finally, it should be mentioned as a peculiarity that Surára and Pakidái men often glue the white down-feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- koikoimão -- in the hair with tree resin. Usually they are arranged in the form of a wreath so that they give the effect of a head circlet (Ill. 9), but sometimes they are scattered through the hair at random. The ornamental idea, however, plays only a secondary role in this case, for this feather covering is regarded as a trophy. In the opinion of these Indians, sickness and evil in general come from hostile tribes, above all from the Waiká. They are caused by magical performances of the medicine men, who for this use these birds or bats as transmitters, in whose bodies they send their own souls. Now if the Surára and Pakidái kill such an animal, they believe that a hostile medicine man has at the same time met his end (see also pp.211 and 229).

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301 191 The feather ornaments of the Surára and Pakidái are, of course, unable to compete with the magnificent feather ornaments of the Urubu-Kaapor, Munduruku /Mundurucu/, Tapirapé, Karajá /Caraja/, Boróro, Guajajára, Tembé, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mawé /Maue/, Arara, Tukano /Tucano/, and Xingú Indians, which were worked out in detail and classified by Darcy and Berta G. Ribeiro (237) (238), but they show how differently the individual

237. Darcy Ribeiro and Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

238. Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

/66 cont./

600 and after that a small celebration takes place. Later the women
841 do not make any arrangements for concealing the monthly bleeding from the eyes of the other /67/ members of the tribe, including the children. They do avoid walking about a great deal during these days, and if the blood flows too copiously, they sit on the bank of the nearby river or brook.

i) Initiation rites for young men

884 All young men who have reached the age of approximately
132 20 years must submit to an initiation rite. It always takes place at the beginning of the dry season, between October and December, halfway between their winter quarters and the large, open maloka where the two tribes spend the summer together and cele-
884 brate the great festival in memory of the dead. In an inter-
86 mediate camp of this type (for a description of the intermediate camp of the Surára, see p. 23) two young men are always trained for two months by the chief and an experienced helper (Hewemãõ and his brother Kurikayawõ among the Surára; Karenauõ and the war chief Porẽhiwõ among the Pakidái) in all matters of religion, magic, mythology, curing the sick, and tribal tradition. Only after that are they regarded as full members of their community and from then on may independently undertake cures and prayers. It should be mentioned that for each sickness there are definite
[782] melodies, texts, and dance steps. The same is true of the prayers with which the individual men address the gigantic animal and plant spirits (hekurá, see p. 200) before and after a journey, after slaying a large game animal, before planting a roça (forest clear-
[276] ing), after a successful harvest, etc. All these magic practices, however, may take place only in the snuff-powder intoxication (see p. 201).

During the training the candidates may not speak to any member of the tribe; during this time they are regarded as dead
884 and after two months achieve an initiatory rebirth. Purely ex-
302 ternally, one recognizes the two candidates by their body painting,
● 825 which consists of six vertical serpentine lines drawn with urucú
86 on abdomen and chest. These lines are a symbolic representation of the surucucu (Lachesis muta L.), the most dangerous

884 /67 cont./
86 poisonous snake of South America, which is over three meters
[302] long. The painting is supposed to help to banish the dangers that
825 emanate from this and other poisonous snakes. As daily nourish-
[262] ment the two candidates may take only a ripe banana and half a
liter of water. After two months they are very thin and appear to
[276] be nothing but skin and bones. In order to suppress their feeling
of hunger and thirst, they constantly have the roll of tobacco
mixed with water and ashes between their lower or upper lip and
[782] teeth (see p.190). Moreover, they must blow large pinches of
[276] the snuff-powder into each other's noses several times a day in
order to make contact with the gigantic animal and plant spirits --
hekurá. Thus, they pass their training period in a regular trance-
state.

884 It is worth noting that the initiation rites of the male members
756 of the tribe take place comparatively late, and that in this way
776 all the men are gradually trained as medicine-man helpers.
Through this, the Surára chief Hewemão explained to me, they
are able to protect themselves and their families against sickness
and accidents in an emergency. If, for example, a man is
threatened along the way by a poisonous snake or a jaguar, he is
now in a position to banish the danger by calling upon the tutelary
spirits. He must never fail to thank the hekurá after a successful
hunting expedition or a good harvest, however, for otherwise he
755 would incur their anger. Even when his wife, one of his children,
[753] or a relative falls ill, he himself must first try, by means of song
and dance in which he addresses the hekurá, to hurl the sickness
back to the hostile tribe from which it was sent. Only if his efforts
remain unsuccessful may he appeal for the aid of the chief, who
is always willing and, with the help of 8-9 assistants, carries out a
great rekurá (cure). Thus, during the day /68/ or at night among
the Surára and Pakidái one frequently sees one man, or often even
several men, praying or attempting to cure a member of the
[276] family. Before that, however, they must take snuff-powder because
contact with the hekurá can be made only in a state of intoxica-
[533] tion. The songs are somewhat monotonous and are combined with
animal sounds, animal movements, such as the beating of wings,
hopping, etc.

/76 cont./

224 relatively infrequently, for the most part only when they stay in the vicinity of a maloka and thus constitute a danger for human
224 262 beings. Only the meat of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) is eaten. For some hunters, however, pride in killing such animals plays a role, for finishing off a jaguar, especially the black one, gives him greater esteem. -- Snakes, which are very numerous here because of the considerable dampness, are killed with a stick. If a surucucu (Lachesis muta L.) -- perefma -- (Surára word) -- peléma -- (Pakidái word), the largest and most dangerous poisonous snake of South America, is killed, then the joy is especially great. The head is cut off, and every family gets a piece of the snake's body, which is cooked with other meat. It has an agree-
[151] able taste and reminded me of eel. The Surára and Pakidái also
● [825] believe, however, that every person who has eaten the meat of a surucucu will never be bitten by any other poisonous snake. The sucuríju (Eunectes murinus) -- uaikonyá -- and the jibóia-vermelha (Epicrates cenchris) -- oatá -- are also eaten with relish. The jararaca (Lachesis sp.) -- karihirimá --, the papaova (Spilotes sp.) -- karimatá --, and the cobra-coral (Elaps corallinus Wied.) -- huamoxíke --, on the other hand, are never eaten. -- Now and then a cayman (Caiman sclerops Schneid.) -- ihuá -- or a lizard -- xaraimá -- are killed with a stick, and sometimes the hunter, but more often his dog, discovers in the forest a jabuti (Testudo tabulata Woelb.) -- totorí --, whose meat is also very tender and tasty; /77/ it does not come up to that of the water turtle, how-
[225] ever. Yet, of the numerous species which inhabit the Demini, Aracá, and their tributaries, the Surára and Pakidái catch only the perema -- talmã --, and, to be sure, they seize it in shallow water with their hands.

223 [868] Bird hunting requires special training. That is why even boys are encouraged to kill as many small birds as possible, so that later on they will be good hunters.

The following birds are most frequently hunted, on account of both their meat and their feathers: mutum (Crax sp.) -- paruí --, uruniutum (Crax sp.) -- katará --, mutum cavalo (Mitu mitu L.) -- katauí --, jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nhapín --, cujubim

/77 cont./

223 (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.) -- maraxí --, jacu (Penélope sp.) -- kuremá --, japim (Cacicus cela L.) -- anhakoramá --, inambu (Crypturellus sp.) -- rororôme --, inambu-relógio (Crypturellus strigulosus Temm.) -- honamá --, toucan (Rhamphastus sp.) -- mahebé --, arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) arakaké -- arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.) -- maracanã --, papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxeramakó --, papagaio curica (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxerá --, garça branca (Casmerodius albus egretta Gm) -- korihená.

[825] [753] The gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- nonexí -- is killed for magical reasons, because it is believed that there is concealed in it a hostile medicine man who brings sickness and [237] other disasters. Its down feathers are glued into the hair by the men as trophies (see p. 95); the meat is discarded. The gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm) -- nonexipéke -- is also killed only for its feathers, which serve the men as upper-arm ornaments.

[825] They never shoot at the urubus (Cathartes foetens, Cathartes aura, etc.) -- uatubá --, for they are glad that they remove the refuse.

224 In conclusion it should be mentioned that traps are unknown to the Surára and Pakidái (353).

353. There is a corresponding statement by Zerries about the Waiká (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

[622] If the hunter has killed a small animal, he may keep this booty for himself and his family, but he often gives the chief a roasted or boiled piece of it. A big-game animal, on the other hand, is divided up under the chief's supervision, and each family gets a piece of meat. This communal feeling is very strongly marked, and no member of the tribe would ever violate it.

Surára
Pakidái

/87 cont./

235 [552] also give names; they are fed by the women. During the day they run around freely, and at night they are confined in a common pen built out of thin trunks and sticks beside each maloka. When the tribe is traveling, it is the duty of the small boys to carry a rooster in the plaited carrying basket made from the bast strips of the curauá plant (see p. 106). When a temporary camp is set up in the afternoon, the cocks are set free. During the night they rest on the limbs of low trees, usually in the vicinity of their owners. Before the march is resumed the next morning, they are caught again and put in the baskets of the boys. I might also mention that the Surára and Pakidái never kill a cock, for it is a member of the household, and they believe furthermore that roosters and hens are unclean animals that eat any kind of filth. For this reason, eating their meat, including the eggs, would be very harmful for human beings (424).

[825] [262]

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424. Among various Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes of Guiana, where many chickens are kept, neither the meat nor the eggs are eaten (Im Thurn, 1883, p. 265). Ehrenreich reports the same thing about the Karajá /Caraja/: "Even the domestic hen, which reached the Araguaya /Araguaia/ tribes a long time ago in the domestic state and has multiplied tremendously, is, as a member of the household, not used for food, nor are its eggs. In modern times, however, it serves as a trade item in dealings with travelers, who sell the poultry in the first settlements of the province of Para at a high profit" (Ehrenreich, 1891, pp. 13/14).

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[171] The tamed wild animals, such as monkeys, parrots, araras, and parakeets, also enjoy complete freedom. I never found them tied up, as is mentioned by Baldus, for example, for the Chaco tribes (425).

425. Baldus, 1931, p. 18.

Surára
Pakidái

/90 cont./

514 [264] There is frequent belching during and after eating, and it happens not infrequently that a member of the family breaks wind, often with a loud noise, which, however, is received with happy laughter, without any damage to the appetite. Both sexes also spit a great deal as a result of the tobacco rolls which they have in the mouth almost constantly (see p. 190).

Urination is done in the immediate vicinity of the maloka during the day and in the hearth at night. Men and boys always urinate in a squatting position, just like women and girls. For their other needs they all go a bit deeper into the forest clearing during the day, or even to the edge of the forest. When they have finished, they rub the seat back and forth a few times on the ground or against a tree trunk. The mother holds small children, in case she happens to be lying in the hammock, over the edge of it. Then she wipes her hand or lower arm across its seat a few times, or, if necessary, she uses a little stick to clean it. The little heap is covered with ashes or earth and stamped into the ground by the mother. If an adult has more important business to attend to at night, he digs a small hole beside the hammock and subsequently covers it with ashes or earth. Old or sick persons do this during the day as well. The reason that [825] [976] the Surára and Pakidái do not leave the maloka at night for the aforementioned purpose is because they are afraid of snakes and jaguars, as well as of nonexí, the evil spirit which transmits sickness (see p. 211). Persistent unpleasant odors are not noticeable even in closed malokas, however, since they are dispelled by the ascending smoke of the constantly burning fire.

841 During their menstruation the women do not use anything to absorb the blood (see pp. 142/143). Pools of blood that remain on the ground are obliterated by them with their feet.

356 123 291 In general, however, the communal house is kept quite clean. One always sees men and women sweeping with a broom made of piaçaba fibers. For this work both sexes liked to put on the shirts and trousers or clothing which I had brought them as gift articles and which were otherwise not at all appreciated.

/96 cont./

2. Curing the Sick

754 825 [753] a) General

All sickness is attributed to hostile witch-doctors, especially those of the Waikâ (493). As carriers they use the gavião-real

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493. The idea that sickness is caused by witch doctors is so widespread in South America that from the large number of examples I should like to quote only two authors for comparison: Roth, 1915, p. 346; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 192.

gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) and the bat. Both animals are therefore designated generally as -- nonexí --, that is, evil spirit or spirit of sickness (494) (495). If such an animal is sighted,

494. Nonexí, however, is also the specific name of the gavião-real.

495. Zerries documents the same name, "noneshi" or "nonish," for the Waikâ. With it, however, they designate the shadow-soul or the alter ago (Zerries, 1958a, p. 108).

it is immediately killed, in order to prevent a misfortune. Moreover, it is assumed that with its death a hostile medicine man, who, of course, temporarily inhabits it, has breathed his last. [239] The down feathers of the gavião-real are therefore glued into the hair for a few days as a trophy (see p. 95).

755 If a member of the tribe has fallen ill, he can be cured only by having the chief, who among the Surára and Pakidái is at the same time the medicine man, and his helpers try to hurl the sickness back to the enemies. This can be done, however, only in the snuff-powder intoxication and by invoking

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527 Between the patapśanomão festivals the Surára and Pakidái have only a few other festivities in the course of the year. These are but small celebrations, which, for example, take place after the two-months' training of two young men as medicine-man helpers, after a successful war-expedition, upon moving into a newly erected maloka, and in connection with the second menstruation of a girl. The latter has more of an intimate character, for only families of relatives and friends take part in it.

4. Magic for Sickness, Hunting, Love, and Rain

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825 a) Magic for sickness:

[824] A magic powder is occasionally prepared from the bark ashes of a wild mimosa species (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekuráhihenâ -- (see also p. 192) and the bone powder of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). In the evening, shortly before twilight sets in, if a gavião-real happens to be flying by or is sitting on a tree, the chief blows this powder in the direction of the bird. The latter receives it and with it transmits sickness to a specific hostile tribe.

224
789 b) Hunting magic:

[782] The evening before a proposed hunting expedition the hunter takes snuff-powder and prays for about 2-3 hours to the hekurá (see pp. 200/201), whereby through them he requests [302] Poré and Perimbó (see p. 197) for a successful outcome. Then, before he sets out the next morning, he paints serpentine lines [825] on his face and body with urucú. If his wife accompanies him, she also applies this design, and the snout and feet of a dog that is taken along are painted with the same color. This is [751] supposed to increase the luck of the hunt and is at the same time bound up with defensive magic against possible dangers threatened by poisonous snakes and jaguars.

Surára
Pakidái

/112 cont./

782 with threads of Bromelia fibers. Such threads are also drawn
[824] crisscross over the sticks, and on them are glued down-feathers
[137] of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). The structure --
akuanohé --, which women and girls are not permitted to see,
gives the effect of a man's head, in the hair of which are glued
down-feathers of the gavião-real. By order of the chief, several
warriors take this calabash into the forest and set it down in a
particular spot.

6. Birds as Transmitters of Messages

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On May 21, 1956, in his maloka on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá, a Surára man, Honohomá, was engaged in a loud monologue which started about 4:00 in the morning and lasted until about 6:00; during this he was lying in
[1114] his hammock. As to the meaning of this apparent monologue, my little interpreter Jibeauwõ afterwards gave me the following explanation: When Honohomá woke up, he heard the singing of the little bird kaukaumã, a japim (Cacicus cela L.), in which at the time, however, the soul of Porêhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, was to be found. The latter was living with his tribe in the /113/ maloka on the middle Demini. The soul in the little bird said that the Pakidái, after the festival in memory of the dead, had arrived safely at their communal house. At the same time it reported the course of the journey in detail, the hunting successes, and the planting of new banana trees and pupunha palms. Whenever the little bird interrupted its song for a time, Honohomá would tell it about how the Surára were getting along.

According to the belief of the two tribes, the little japim is a transmitter of messages, who reports illness and death, as well as military encounters with hostile tribes.

/114 cont./

539 discipline of the tribe. Since all admonitions were of no avail, he was banished from the community.

Karemonã painted his body with urucú and left the maloka. After he had wandered about in the forest for a few hours, he lay down wearily on the ground and fell asleep. While he was asleep Poré transformed him into the jibóia-vermelha (Epicrates cenchris) -- oatã -- because of his insubordination.

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●825

The Creation of the Black Jaguar

The Surára were already acquainted with clearing by burning and cultivated banana trees and pupunha palms. One day they saw a large toad in the forest clearing. A Surára wanted to kill it, but it fled to the other /115/ side of the roça (forest clearing) and there turned into a black jaguar.

The Creation of the Tapir

A cuatá monkey fell from a tall tree and was unable to climb up again. After several unsuccessful attempts, it turned into a tapir.

The Creation of Wild Pigs

A band of cuxiú monkeys fell from a tall tree. After futile attempts at climbing up again they were transformed into wild pigs.

The Creation of the Ant Bear

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A Surára man who had raped his mother-in-law was turned into an ant bear by Poré as punishment. Since then there has been in-law avoidance between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and the meat of the ant bear may not be eaten by members of the tribe.

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224 411 It is also dangerous to lose an arrow when one is hunting. That is why they only shoot the arrow when, should they miss the target, they can easily retrieve it. In spite of these precautions, the arrow is sometimes lost or remains hanging from an [782] inaccessible tree. Then the man, in order not to lose his aim, puts it under the protection of Omao, to whom he speaks, saying: "Omáuawan ipa ʃflaka toldíapala!" which means: "Omao, watch over my arrow!"

224 777 789 826 To lose one's aim or luck in hunting may arise from a technical reason or a supernatural cause. The former is due to a weakening of the body brought about by sickness or other causes which influence sight or the strength of the arm. If it is due to this latter cause, the hunter knows the remedy. He goes to the forest and searches for a tree with hard, heavy wood; he cuts a piece and sets fire to it and collects the ashes, which he applies to the cuts inflicted on his arm. If he bears the pain without touching the hurt arm with the other hand and does not shout, his muscles will once again recover their lost strength and the hunter will recover his luck and good aim.

224 776 777 If the hunter returns without any game, it may be because Omao did not favor him, and this is the supernatural cause of his failure.

224 782 [777] According to our informants from the Erebato, a good hunter speaks frequently with Omao, for without his protection he will not be lucky. For this reason he says to him: "Omao awayf ipa ʃálawa hadu kapálama!" which is translated as: "Omao, draw my game out into the open!"

Worse than being unlucky is to lose one's life in a hunting accident, and in order to implore the protection of the other world, the hunter prays, "Omao sátoria palái!" that is to say: "Omao, protect me!"

224 ● 825 /206/ Of course, all these precautions are useless if the hunter has not learned the art of hunting. He must know how the various animals live and how to identify their tracks. If these latter should be fresh, he orders his dog to follow the track of the game; the success of a Sanemá hunter depends in great

/206 cont./

224 part on his dog. The hunter must also know a great variety of
825 calls for attracting the animals and birds and, above all, know which arrow to shoot in order to kill the animal which may come in answer to his call.

224 All this and a great deal more about which we are ignorant
775 must be learned by the Sanemá hunter in order to have the benefit of his knowledge not only on earth but also in the world of Omao after his death. An expert hunter continues to be one in "heaven" and there he will have the opportunity of recompensing Omao for the benevolence showed him during his earthly life.

224 The Sanemá hunt with bow and arrows. Usually each man carries with him, in addition to his bow, five arrows and a quiver with various types of points.

[415] [372] The quiver, made of bamboo, is carried, hanging by means of a bejuco, from the neck, on the chest, or across the back. In most cases they carry, tied to the same quiver, some small sticks with which to kindle fire. In the forest they pull out with extraordinary speed the point best suited to kill the animal which comes within range, and it is surprising with what dexterity and speed they can shoot one or several arrows.

If there are several hunters surrounding a pack of peccaries or a group of monkeys, the booty belongs to the one who kills it.

It seems that the Sanemá of the Erebato also use a kind of trap (Schwippgalgenfalle), particularly to capture the lapa /paca/ or deer (20).

> 20. It would seem that this trap reflects a cultural borrowing among the Sanemá, since the Surará, Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 77), and Waica (Zerries, 1956c, p. 151) do not have it.

223 In order to catch birds, the hunter climbs up into a very high tree and hides there behind some thick branches. He attracts the birds with whistles, and, when they are near, he shoots them; a companion waits at the foot of the tree for the prey's fall, in

/206 cont./

223 order to pick it up. As a result of his expertness in hunting, he knows the trees in which the birds gather to spend the night. The man, using palm leaves and bejucos, carefully prepares a blind with the sure hope that, by means of this ambush, the booty will be plentiful.

224 Hunting in groups is common among the Sanemá, and they
262 do this particularly to surround a group of monkeys, peccaries,
[237] or in order to kill a feline. /207/ They do not eat the meat of jaguars, but keep the canine teeth in the roof of the house.
[482] They tie up the peccaries that they get, front feet to the back ones, load them on their backs, and carry them home. The meat of the peccary is greatly esteemed, and the whole ranchería gathers to eat the animal, with the exception of the young unmarried men, who, by order of the capitan, must not taste the meat so that the hunters who have killed the animals will not die. They may, however, eat other kinds of meat and the food which they most like.

There are some animals that the Sanemá are prohibited from hunting: thus, they do not eat snakes, they kill the cayman, but
[766] do not sample its flesh. The Sanemá of the Erebato told us that they cremate caymans as they do men, for, in fact, as far as
[784] they are concerned, caymans were previously men. It is taboo to kill a morrocoy or a turtle. They were people before and Omao
262 does not permit them to be killed. There are other animals which
223 they kill and eat only under certain conditions, among them the eagle (21).

> 21. The Surará and Pakidai kill the eagle, but throw away its flesh. They say that it transmits sickness (Becher, 1960, p. 77). (Cf. the section on "death" in the present study /see pp. 93-94 /.)

223 If a hunter comes upon an eagle, he believes that he is facing
825 a speciman of a species of animal which was previously a person.
262 He may be facing a friend or an enemy. Therefore, before shooting, he asks the animal if it is a friend or an enemy, and only if

262 /207 cont./
223 it answers that it is an enemy is he to kill it. In the majority of
●825 cases it turns out to be an enemy, and the hunter kills it with a double aim: to have meat and to cause an enemy to disappear. The hunter carries the eagle home, and his wife prepares it for
[514] food. Those who eat the meat must not defecate on the ground,
[785] but only in the water. The hunter himself must not eat any of this meat and fasts for two months. The eagle "weighs heavily" on his chest, and only when it has "gone upwards" does the hunter get better and begin to feel well again. From now on those who have eaten of the meat may live without taking the above-mentioned precautions (22).

22. See the section which deals with "war" /see p. 57 /.

825 It might be said that for every Sanemá rancheria there exists a rancheria of eagles and of hanekasá. This belief has characteristics of the idea of the alter ego, and the Sanemá apply kinship terms to these animals when they speak to them. The same occurs with regard to jaguars and other animals which they mentioned to us vaguely.

226 Fishing plays a very secondary role in the Sanemá economy.
[433] They fish with barbasco, with bow and arrow, but we have not seen special arrows for this purpose. In recent times they have adopted fishhooks, which they now use quite frequently.

222 /208/ Of secondary importance, coming after hunting, is the gathering of various kinds of small animals, insects, wild fruit,
[527] and also honey and eggs. The shoots of palms represent an important part of the diet, but above all the fruit of the pijiguao palm (Guilielma sp.), the harvest of which, during the first three months of the year, marks the time of festivities and other social
[114] activities. We were not able to gather much information from the Sanemá regarding this matter, but Barker (1953, pp. 447-48), Zerries (1955b), and Becher (1960) refer to this festive occasion in greater detail, according to their observation of it among the Waica, Pakidai, and Surara (cf. Vinci, 1959, pp. 111-118).

/211 cont./ There are
601 personal names which an individual receives from the theurgist,
551 but the kinship term seems to be used more in daily contact be-
[689 tween persons. It is considered an offense to mention the name
• [825 of a deceased person in the presence of any of his relatives, and,
as we mentioned before, kinship terms are extended even to
speaking with certain animals during the hunt.

606 In general, dealings between persons are very free, with the exception of the strong prohibitive taboo which exists between the son-in-law and his mother-in-law and father-in-law. Usually, one must not approach one's wife's parents. Only in cases of emergency can this be done, thus breaking the custom. These cases of emergency come about, for instance, during a battle, when one of the persons is wounded.

597 The adoption of an orphan takes place informally when it is a matter of a small child. The family that adopts him takes him in like another one of its own members. Older children also live in a family of the group, but they are not adopted, properly speaking, for they are not given specific kinship denominations. We do not think that there are special terms to express a relationship of adoption.

554 Regarding the social structure, it seems that the main distinctions are those of sex and age. The man who carries out his daily tasks with dexterity enjoys great prestige among his peers, and those who are really successful in their work rise to the top of /212/ the social hierarchy. In Sanemá society the three theurgists which we shall mention later on enjoy high rank; but we must repeat the fact that the data regarding this matter which we present here are provisional and therefore subject to possible modification.

554 As we shall see, Sanemá society seems to have three differ-
791 ent theurgists: a "magician" /mago/, a shaman, and a priest.
756 This last one possesses characteristics of a real specialist, since,
793 for the most part, he earns his living from his office. There is not the least doubt but that the theurgists in general, and the shaman and priest in particular, represent the most influential position in Sanemá society; particularly if the two offices are carried out
ooo by one and the same person. We were greatly surprised to find

/219 cont./

588 Marriages which oppose the bilateral extension of the law of incest are criticized and are prohibited, and anyone who contravenes this law is automatically placed outside society.

589 793 Unmarried men are few, and, they say, only the priest practices celibacy.

165 The number of persons of advanced age is very small among the Sanemá. Among the Nabudub we saw only one old man.

753 In the majority of cases, sickness has a magical cause and the theurgists attempt to cure those who are within their field of action. We did not penetrate into this intimate sphere of Sanemá culture and the little that we heard is set forth in the section which deals with religious and magical aspects of these Indians.

764 159 We were not present at any funeral among the Sanemá, but our young informant of the upper Erebato told us in great detail about the death of his father.

159 753 825 763 He had gone out to the forest. There he had found an eagle. As eagles are men, they may only be killed if they are enemies of one's pueblo. The father asked the eagle whether he was a Waica or a Sanemá, and, when it answered that it was a Waica, the Sanemá man killed it with his arrow. Naturally he observed all the taboos that are obligatory for a hunter who kills an eagle. A few days later he became sick. He had a very high fever and remembered that when he picked up the eagle he got the impression that it was feverish, and, as birds of prey are often sent by a theurgist of neighboring enemies in order to kill the people, that explained everything. There was no reason to look for any other cause, the diagnosis was clear, the eagle had transmitted its sickness to the hunter. He became worse as the days went by and /220/ finally died; but he had first explained to the members of his family the cause of his sickness and the reason for his certain death.

159 764 Immediately after the death, the whole family burst into tears and began to shout; meanwhile several men went in search of the material necessary for raising the corpse. For this there is needed a quantity of stakes and leaves with which a sort of cylindrical coffin is made, and, after the dead person is placed

/220 cont./

159 inside, it is tied with lianas. Then they take the corpse into
764 the forest where it is deposited, at a distance of some kilometers, on the branches of a tree in order for the flesh to decompose there. Often the members of the family will not leave the corpse alone in the forest for fear that animals will come and
[775] devour it. The dead are very much afraid of animals and shout when a jaguar approaches them.

• [825] The feline respects only a dead sablf, because he will die
[756] in turn if he approaches.

Our informant spent several nights next to his father's
[784] corpse, always being very careful not to step on the damp ground beneath the dead man, because those who step there lose their feet.

152 The grief of the relatives is so intense that very often some
764 of them can not endure the pain and go to the forest to die. Above all the women lament a great deal during the night and the men hold them back so that they will not run away to the forest. The informant remembered that the strongest man of his tribe behaved as though he were mad after the death of his father and wanted to kill everybody. The men did not allow him to go with them into the forest to gather up the bones of his father for fear that, given his behavior, he might commit some crime.

765 After one month, more or less, the men of the tribe go to the forest and gather up the bones of their companion; the flesh decomposes completely during this period. Some of the men let down the coffin and others wrap the remains of the deceased in some large leaves, making in this way a bundle of bones which they take back with them to the rancheria. There they place it in a hammock and leave it for about four days, while the relatives continue to weep in uninterrupted lamentation.

765 Later the sablf carries the bones to a fire prepared in the
775 plaza and places them on top of the pile of firewood. Our
[756] informant also said that as the sablf did this he pronounced a well-known formula which means: "you are getting along well," for, if he did not say this, the hfkula would not be able to find its way. Afterwards he lights the fire, blows upon it at the same time as he raises his arms /221/ above his head, and in the smoke

/221 cont./

793 [776 621] Since the Sanemá people cannot exist in good conditions without the continued and intimate contact with the house of Omao, sáiyawan, the priest makes himself indispensable in the grouping of a band, whose very existence is perpetuated in large part by the quality of the priest.

The hɛwĩawán of the Sanemá devotes himself exclusively to filling his high office. For this reason he cannot work, or hunt, or fish, etc. like a common man, and he lives on the benefactions given to him by the community as compensation for the services which he renders to it.

/222/ In his frequent flights between the earth and heaven he commonly kills a vulture or sparrow hawk and that explains why he often returns with his mouth covered with blood, bringing some cashew birds and, on certain limited occasions, even a human leg, trophies which he obtained as he killed the enemy (23).

23. It is likely that all this represents the ideal habitus rather than the real one of the priest.

793 773 Before discussing the nature of the power of the hɛwĩawán, we shall first narrate the genesis of the first hɛwĩawán of the Sanemá, which will explain to us how it comes about that the hɛwĩawán is able to fly and why he always goes about raised some 30 centimeters from the ground when he is on the earth.

There was a man who one day went into the forest to hunt. There he was met by a Great Jaguar, omaukõhe, who is a gigantic jaguar, master of the other felines, and who goes about in an upright position like a man. The jaguar caught the man and ate all his flesh, leaving the skeleton picked clean but without breaking a single bone. The man remained alive and asked the Great Jaguar to give him other flesh. The Jaguar gave him other flesh, but told him that henceforth he would be hɛwĩ (bat). [825] And from that time on the man hɛwĩawán is also a bat. He is a very timid man; children love him very much, because he never gets angry and does not scold. When he is in the company of men, he spends his time singing songs, wásámo songs, which

/224 cont./

793 778 628 [776] other, for they would begin to fight each other until one of them lay inert on the ground, exhausted and overcome. But they do not kill each other. Only in the house of Omao may all the hɛ̃wĩawán gather with their hĩkula-dĩb.

793 778 775 The hĩkula-dĩb of a priest act exclusively in his rancheria, in other words, in the rancheria of the priest who figures in the house of Omao as the representative of his particular terrestial community, and for this reason more than one priest is unnecessary. In the section of the illustrations[7] one can see the

532 793 778 775 126 hikuladɛ̃ of a priest, drawn by one of our informants. One sees there five hĩkula-dĩb, or souls of ancestors of the group in which the priest acts. The uppermost figure represents fever. In the center one can see a quadrangular figure which is a house. One of the beings who is inside it is the priest, but what can be seen on the left side is a coleopteran, a scarab. Under the house is seen the heart of the priest.

The informant, after having drawn the figure, insisted emphatically that we tear it up, and he suffered some anguish for having given it to us. After several days had passed, I took him the drawing in order to ask for more details and found him

532 793 778 775 126 825 calm and unworried. The reason for suffering this anguish is based on the belief that a Sanemá must never speak of the insect of the house of the hikuladɛ̃. As a matter of fact our informant never mentioned its name. I identified the insect as a scarab on the basis of the descriptions that he gave us and because it was not the first time that I had heard the scarab or other coleopterans mentioned as a supernatural being in South American ethnology.

171 773 825 778 Such is the belief of the Lengua of the Gran Chaco, who affirm that the Great Scarab created the universe and peopled it with spirits and men. The Toba, also of the Chaco, call it payak, a name which means spirit; and it is interesting with regard to the hĩkuladɛ̃ of the Sanemá priest to note the Mataco custom of attributing a supernatural power to a maraca /gourd rattle/ with sacred beetles (Metraux, 1946d, pp. 350, 352, 353, 367). The similarity between the hikuladɛ̃ of the Sanemá and the "sacred maraca" of many South American tribes is very symptomatic.

[7] [See p. 70 - -Analyst]

/224 cont./

793 The function of the scarab in the curing process is as fol-
755 lows: If the hɛ̃wĩawán wishes to cure a patient, he takes the
825 hĩkula from his chest and places it upon the patient. In order to effect the cure, the scarab opens an invisible hole in the chest of the patient, and the hikuladɛ̃ of the priest enters through there.
[175] /225/ Once within the patient's chest, the hĩkula-dĩb come out of the hikuladɛ̃ in order to combat and bring to the exterior the cause of the sickness. After a while the priest again takes possession of his hikuladɛ̃, and the treatment is fully successful. The informant did not want to mention the name of the caleopteran or even to talk about it, fearing that if he were to do so and if he were then to become sick, the priest would not be able to cure him, since the insect would not open a hole in the chest of the patient.

793 It is our impression that the priest only cures the ailments
755 that result from the presence, in the body of the sick person,
775 of the soul of a wandering deceased person who has approached the rancherias and whose very presence causes pain.

If we understand that the part of the Sanemá which goes to the house of Omao is the soul, we may say that the priest is concerned with the well-being of the same in the bodies of his companions, and that he represents the actualizing principle between the subject "the soul of the man" and the object "Omao," who enter into communication by means of the intervention of the priest. For the soul, which goes to live in the house of Omao as hĩkula-dĩb, we noted down the name of hɛ̃npĩrtĩb, which essentially seems to correspond in its character to the "bole" of the Waica (Zerries, 1958b).

793 The hɛ̃wĩawán may send a hĩkula-dĩb to a neighboring
775 pueblo in order to cause sickness among its inhabitants; but his
754 primary function is to guarantee the well-being of the souls of his community and to present them eventually to Omao at death.
793 It is interesting in this respect to note that the Surara and Pakidai,
754 subgroups of the Yanoama of Brazil, are of the opinion that
825 sicknesses are transmitted by a shaman of a neighboring pueblo by means of sparrow hawks and bats. The Sanemá say that the

/225 cont./ The sanemá say that the
793 hɛwĩawán kills vultures and sparrow hawks on his travels (Becher,
825 1960, p. 96). As we have already explained in another section of this chapter, the Sanemá believe that the eagle and other birds of prey are "men" who can be killed only if they belong to an enemy tribe.

793 The hikuladɛ offers the priest the possibility of flying to the
798 house of Omao. In order that I might understand him better and
[076] not doubt his veracity, the native making the drawing fixed a
126 propeller to the mysterious sphere. One might say that the
[095] hɛwĩawán is carrying the soul of a dead person to the house of Omao.

756 The second religious practitioner of the Sanemá is a shaman, who is called sablí. The supernatural world over which he has power is different from the world of the priest, and therefore his function is different from that of the former.

[533] In order to become a shaman, the candidate must submit to a very rigorous training under the guidance of an old sablí who knows how to sing the "Great Kɛɛ."

756 /226/ During the period of apprenticeship, which lasts
276 several weeks, the candidate takes yopo continually through a
262 tube or simply with the hand, eats very little and only the food
515 prescribed; he does not bathe and almost does not speak. Among
123 the Waica of the Upper Orinoco I saw a group of these candidates who gave me a depressing impression since they showed prolonged suffering as a result of the consumption of the drug. We were not able to speak with them, and we were not allowed to take blood samples from them as we did with the other members of the rancheria.

756 It seems that all the men are potentially sablíes, but
533 among them there are some who are very strong and others who
994 are weak, and only the strongest ones are able to sing the "kɛɛ" well. This song is rendered by the sablí at the end of his period of instruction, when the candidates are prepared and ready to receive the hĩkulas, or "specific vital principles" of the species of flora and fauna, with the exception of fish. As soon as they hear the call of their master, they obey and go toward his locality, where they find the sablí candidate waiting for them to enter his

/228 cont./

756 778 825 [533] The Sanemá sablí has great power over animals and plants represented in his hikuladɛ́, with which he communicates while he is asleep. If he should dream about a dangerous animal, a jaguar for instance, he makes him sit down in order to begin the song õkamõ against jaguars. This song keeps the jaguar from the rancheria, but, when it is relatively near, the hikuladɛ́ of the sablí goes out to kill the jaguar in the forest, where the hunters will find him dead on the following day. But if the men sent by the sablí do not find the body of the jaguar, everybody remains in the rancheria on the following day, for they fear that the Great Jaguar may be in the forest and will kill anybody found in his way.

756 533 754 [825] [774] The sablíes sing almost every night, and the bigger the animal who appears to them in their dreams, the more intense is the song. In his songs, the sablí can send any híkula from his chest to go and kill a man in a foreign rancheria, however far it is. Usually he does this at night, and on the following day the victim's companions find him dead in his hammock.

774 756 [754] [753] [761] I have the impression that the híkulas belonging to the various species are, of themselves, absolutely passive and that they behave in an active way only at the command and wish of the sablí. Most sicknesses, including death, are caused by a híkula introduced into the body of the man by the intervention of the sablí and by his magical power.

756 755 774 The priest sablí, influenced by the effects of yopo, shouts, sings, and dances around the patient. With this he attempts to scare off the harmful híkula which is striving to enter the body of the man. It is very often personified by a man who is symbolically fought by the híkula of the sablí and others chosen from his "pueblo of híkula" in his chest. The curative art of the sablí depends to a great degree on his diagnosis, according to which he chooses from his great híkula in his chest those which, by their skill, can combat the híkula or híkulas causing the sickness. It goes without saying that a young and inexperienced sablí makes mistakes in his diagnosis of identifying, from among all the possible thousands, the híkula which is causing the sickness sent by an enemy. It

/229 cont./

774 The world of the "specific" hĩkulas is found on the other side of the horizon and in contrast with the world of the souls. There the sablĩes live forever, together with the dead animals and plants.

562 773 825 [774] It is worthwhile to refer once again to the insistence of our Sanemá informant from the Upper Caura regarding the fact that women do not have specific hĩkula. He asserted to us, furthermore, that women have a different origin from men and that there still exists a purely feminine world, and that each Sanemá pueblo has its corresponding hanekasá. The informant would not identify the animal of which he spoke, but we knew [773] that it was of a well-known species. From the mythology one can deduce that the first men were made from a dead tree by the cultural hero brothers, while the first woman was fished out of a very large river.

Omao wished to metamorphose into women the butterflies which danced /230/ like people on the shore of a river, because the hanekasá are a pueblo of females in which there are only three males to insure reproduction. This pueblo of amazons is an exact replica of the female population of the rancheria neighboring a pueblo, in the characteristics of which we found a concept of alter ego for the Sanemá women.

[774] [763] It is possible that there exists some relationship between the hĩkula and the male, for it is said that men die from the "weight" of the hĩkula of certain animals; but we are not certain on this point (cf. Zerries, 1958b; Becher, 1960, p. 92). We are [763] more certain about the relationship which exists between women and the hanekasá animal, since a woman (of the neighboring rancheria) dies for each hanekasá which is killed. Other religious concepts which are difficult to interpret for the time being may also enter here.

791 755 A third type of theurgist which seems to exist in Sanemá society is the magician, the kãilala. He does not sing like the sablĩ and has no influence over the specific hĩkulas or over souls. He is the curer of the organism, of the body of a man. He cures by uttering tremendous cries, gives massages on the ailing and painful limbs of his patients. Suddenly he will surprise all those

2/1 [see additional data on the hanekasá on p 113 .. Analyst]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 · SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Barbasco is a kind of liana which can grow to impressive dimensions—attaining a stem up to eight inches thick. The Indians cut it in the forest and collect a large pile together at a convenient place for pressing. Their press is made from one of those dead trunks of hardwood which are found in such quantity in the forest and some wooden clubs specially cut for the purpose. The liana stems are pounded and then done up into bundles so that they can be easily taken to the place to be fished, which may be some way off. Here they are immersed several times in the river, releasing a milky juice which gives the water a whitish opalescence. The juice of the liana reduces the air content of the water through oxidization, and the fish very soon come floating up to the surface—asphyxiated but not poisoned.

This procedure is a very common one among the Indians, whose fishing follows a two-year cycle—this being the minimum time needed for each stretch of water to become repopulated after the use of barbasco. It goes without saying that this extract of liana loses its efficacy in anything bigger than a small stream. Nevertheless, in times of scarcity the Indians will attempt to fish medium-sized rivers in this way, banding together to collect huge quantities of liana. The fish taken are then smoked and wrapped in banana leaves, after which they will keep for months.

Auai and his men had to go far afield with their barbasco before they found a suitable place. The probability was that the Shirians had already been at work, unknown to anyone, near the source of the Canaracuni. We therefore left him to it after all, and returned to camp early one morning, just in time to meet the plane that was circling the field.

VI

On Sunday, the 24th June, a big plane came into sight over the rim of the Sarisariñama mountains—towards the east where they merge into the Socsoc range. It swooped down to about three hundred feet and then went off without giving any signal. The excitement among the Indians on the spot—Luis Antonio was one of them and he explained the nature of the machine to his kinsfolk—was doomed to disappointment. And time and again this story of the aeroplane continued to arouse our hopes, only to dampen them once more.

A week later it appeared, at the same time—so suddenly and unexpectedly

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
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842
846 the male as continuing in importance not only after conception—at which stage, in our own positivist scientific view, the male role ceases to count—but for a certain period after the actual birth. The male, the cause, is still in the picture, according to the Indian mind, when the mother and child are living a normal life.

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844
[128
115] I had known other native peoples, and in regard to these Indian beliefs on the subject of childbirth, Luis Antonio confirmed what had already come to my knowledge.

'In order for the birth to be a success,' he told me, 'when the wife is five
[225] months gone, the husband should stop eating peccary, snake or *caribe* (the name given in Venezuela to the carnivorous fish known in Brazil as *piranha*), and the flesh of any animal of an aggressive nature.' (Here, principles of hygiene were
[846] mingled with elements of magic, as happens also in the more advanced religions.) 'Then, before the birth, during the birth and after, the man must stay in the hammock without stirring, because any strain on his part, or any mishap that came his way, would affect the child and might have dire results.'

[562] The explanation sounds quite normal and natural once one admits the principle of continued causation in the man, the woman being regarded simply as a means. In fact there is no need for her to obey the injunction to stay in the hammock. She will continue her daily round until she feels 'something break inside her'. Then, with the midwife, she will hurry to the appointed place on the river-bank.

*123
844 I once had the chance of being present at a birth. I was with the Taurepan Indians of the Gran Sabana, and I watched hidden behind a cluster of Mauritius palm, where I could follow the principal stages of the proceedings. The woman, with her head tilted back, was seated on the clay bank in a sort of arm-chair shaped hollow which had been scooped out—whether naturally or made for the purpose I do not know. The midwife knelt at her feet, waiting. For some time both remained in this position. The woman kept giving little cries—but not really cries of pain. After a brief labour, the mother uttered one long howl which sounded to me like an 'u . . . u . . . uh' of rapture, and the midwife rose to her feet, holding up a tiny, mottled infant head downwards by the heels.

Still holding the baby by the feet, the old lady washed him in the river—
—with exactly the motions you might expect from a washerwoman giving the final rinsing to some heavy garment. I couldn't see the next step, but a few

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

to use our machetes to open up a fair-sized space so that we could drag the canoes up on to dry ground beyond the reach of possible floods. Behind the bamboos we could see traces in the undergrowth of an old track, which after crossing thirty-two hills and the length of the Aracoea river would lead us to a horde of howling ape-men, who cultivated cane for their arrows, and nothing else.

Uarema had a young dove which he had caught alive on the way along the Merevari, and was looking after it. He gave it the affectionate name of Pipa. Sempronio helped him by looking for little berries, which the pretty little bird took greedily. The others were meanwhile busy putting up a shelter for the night and clearing a little more space around it, while Hashimo and Solitum went off to make a brief reconnaissance of the all but vanished track. Uarema paid no attention to anything but his Pipa, calling its name softly and fondling it like a child.

A love for animals always seems strange among these Indians, and when it exists it is subject to the wildest caprice. For instance, a monkey, after being brought up among them with every sign of affection, will suddenly become a comic target for their blunt arrows and die a slow death from its wounds.

For the moment Uarema was lavishing all his affection on Pipa, and when I accidentally trod on the bird, squashing it flat as a pancake, he turned on me instinctively, as if he was going to throw himself on me: the Guayca Indian in him had suddenly come out, roused by this offence against his love for the poor little dove crushed under the foreigner's foot. But suddenly his mood changed and without a word he picked up the squashed bird, under whose wings there was still a flutter of life, and threw it far off, with an air of disgust.

Sempronio watched the incident, laughing very quietly as he always did and looking up at me: he seemed to regard me as some sort of personal protector of his own. Then he went off in search of Pipa. Rolled up in a few leaves, the bird was put aside for his private cuisine.

Sempronio came from Auai stock. He was a mere boy, not fully developed, and he had joined us in this Samatari venture simply because I had told him to come. 'He doesn't want to come, but you want him to, so he comes'—these were the exact words into which Uarema had translated Sempronio's brief remarks. And he came everywhere with us, even to the Samatari, who were considered by his own people—a good, *smiling* people, whose only remaining primitive trait lay in their inordinate passion for theft—to be monsters ready at

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
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CAPTURED BY THE SAMATARI

Among the Indians generally, and the northern Guayca tribes, there is a curious method of keeping wild animals at a distance which is based on this knowledge. They search round the streams for traces of the path the animals use when they go to drink. Then they scatter it with human excrement. If one of the creatures comes back that way, he will suddenly go bounding off across the width of the valley to seek refuge in the rocky heart of the mountain, such is his terror of the very traces of man.

Before we reached one table-topped hill which we had glimpsed from the last high point, Uarema killed an agouti. We ate it straight away, with a few palm hearts from San Paulo palm trees which Sempronio and Solituan—the youngest and oldest members of our expedition—gathered as we went along, and carried with them like bunches of flowers. We camped on the sandstone heights, where the vegetation had thinned out and was soft and mossy, with great clusters of Spanish moss, drenched with water, clinging to the tree-trunks, orchids growing on the ground and curtains of lichen hanging from the trees instead of the lianas found at lower levels.

And with the change of vegetation at this altitude, there was a change of atmosphere also. From the warm, heavy air of the plain, where one could feel a lush exuberance of life swelling the sap of every plant and setting a myriad little animals in motion, you passed to a region of cold silence, only broken at regular intervals by the lugubrious chant of the bell-bird, a bird with an astoundingly long white tail which, from concealment among the bushes, gives a call of long, mournful, metallic ring.

After our high spirits of the first day out, which the luxuriant life of the forest had sent even higher, now, on the heights, we were invaded by a sort of melancholy acceptance of these cool solitudes and their touch of death. We wanted to drop down again, to camp in some little valley where the chances of encountering animals were always greater; but the hour was very late, and we had to stay where we were for the night, on the south side. From here, as far as the eye could see, the humps of the mountains stretched out before us as we peered through the trees. They were covered with a thick dark green vegetation, absolutely uniform, and underneath it a hundred little streams drained into marshy depressions. Hashimo pointed out the hills with his usual gesture. Before we reached the Samatari, there were still eighteen more, or so we thought.

/486 cont./

825 821 [794] Animals do not have spirits. The thunder is the voice of certain creatures who dwell in the clouds. Frequently I have heard the Guaika say: "Listen to how many there are!"

Lightning is a creature similar to a flame /llama, "flame," "llama"/, which during storms leaps to earth in order to eat trees.

"Ekoa" and "Koje" are rivers in the sky. "Omoa" is the one 776 who pours the water from these rivers over the land. The "amajini" are like human beings, but smaller, who live under the surface of the earth.

[753] "Sulilíwa" can hide himself in the settlements and cause sicknesses. "Wakaliwa" can get into the human body and cause sickness.

821 The wind is regarded as a very terrible enemy, and they believe that it is sent by an enemy. When a storm approaches, the men go out and try to turn it toward an enemy settlement, or at least they hope to be able to turn it away from their own settlement.

789 754 Sorcery and magic are practiced by most of the men. They believe that by taking a little "yopo" through the nasal passage they may have a greater influence on the spirits. There are re- [756] ligious advisers who apparently know the spirits and recommend the measures which must be taken against them.

Numbers and Measures

802 The Guaika /Waica/ have words to designate "one" and "two." Above these quantities it is necessary to say "few," "several," "many," "a great many," "all," etc. They can say two and one, or two and two, but they generally do not do this. They show exact numbers higher than two by raising their fingers. I have seen them cross the dwelling to see if a person is holding up three or four fingers in the semidarkness. /487/ I have asked for as many as 12 objects and received the exact quantity by showing them four fingers of my hand three consecutive times. They understand this, but to express the idea of 11 is quite difficult for them to understand.

/488/

844 [123] James Barker (author of the essay) and I (Killam) were invited to witness the birth of a child. Our house was about 200 meters away from the Guaika settlement. We were able to hear the moans of the woman in confinement. When we arrived at the settlement, the father-in-law of the Indian woman was performing a stimulating dance in front of the dwelling which he shared with his son and his daughter-in-law.

At a short distance behind the house, in a clearing made in the woods and away from the path, there were several women, including the woman in confinement. We were taken along a path near to the place where the women were. There were several other persons observing the event along with us: a couple [123] of men and some children. They seemed to be only slightly interested, the children trying to make us go away from there in order to play with them.

The woman in confinement was walking incessantly from one side to the other, complaining about her pains, until she finally settled down on the ground among some weeds. We waited for some 15 minutes. Then, after having heard the cry of the infant, one of the women assisting called us. The child, a little girl, had just been born. The mother received us with a smile. She had squatted down, holding the baby upright in her lap. Two of the women proceeded to cut the umbilical cord, using a piece of cane, and then they stuffed it with some green leaves.

The mother gathered up the afterbirth with her hands, wrapping it in green leaves which a girl brought her. Another person later took it away. Then the mother rubbed mud and • [825] humus over the place where the afterbirth had been. They said that this is done for protection against wild animals.

Meanwhile, someone brought water in a gourd. The mother took a mouthful, which she then squirted gently over her little creature, bathing it with the water warmed in her mouth.

After the little girl had been bathed, they placed her on green, clean leaves, covering her with a few branches. Several of the women walked back and forth above her several /489/ times.

the Yąnomamö. This process is still going on.

Ferocity and violence is further reflected in Yąnomamö cosmology. In their conception, the human soul has three parts. One of these parts, the ngreshi, is capable of leaving the body; when it does so, the person becomes ill and dies unless it (the ngreshi) returns. The ngreshi are inherited patrilineally for males and matrilineally for females. Each human ngreshi has an animal or bird counterpart whose life is coextensive and coterminous with that of the human to which it corresponds. Many of the ngreshi are types of animals commonly taken by hunters. Thus, when the Yąnomamö kill game animals, they believe they also kill the human being to whom that ngreshi corresponds.[1] Hence, hunting in the eyes of the Yąnomamö is behaving fiercely, for every ngreshi animal killed also results in the death of some human, usually an enemy.

Shamanism also deals in ferocity, for the Yąnomamö shamans all claim to take mysterious trips to the villages of their enemies and eat the ngreshi of the enemy's children.

The complex of ferocity has an important consequence in Yąnomamö social organization, as aggressive behavior detracts from the solidarity of alliances between villages and creates tension within villages. Men are constrained to act ferociously and seize on every opportunity to coerce others in order to display aggressiveness. Most of the displays of

[1] They are not concerned about killing their own ngreshi, for humans and their ngreshi animals live in complementary distribution.

blood of Periboriwä. *Because they have their origin in blood, they are fierce and are continuously making war on each other.* This myth seems to be the "charter" of Yąnomamö society. It is the only one they repeatedly told me without my asking about it.

Where his blood was thickest, in the areas directly underneath the spot where Periboriwä was shot, the wars were so intense that the Yąnomamö in that area exterminated themselves. Where the blood had an opportunity to thin out, the Yąnomamö were less fierce and therefore did not become extinct, although they, too, fought continuously.

After this, there were only men. One of the men, a descendant of the blood of Periboriwä, was called Kanaboroma, not to be confused with Kanabororiwä, the bird who stole fire from Alligator's (Iwä's) mouth. One day his legs became pregnant. Women came out of the left leg, and men out of the right. These Yąnomamö were very *hirii* (docile, afraid) when compared to the ones who were derived from the blood. They rapidly multiplied and also contributed to the present population of Yąnomamö. All the present Yąnomamö came from the blood of Periboriwä or from the leg of Kanaboroma, or from a combination of both. The original beings all changed into *pai* spirits.

THE SOUL. Yąnomamö concepts of the soul are elaborate and complicated. The true or real portion of living man is his "will" or "self" (*bahii*). At death, this changes into a *no bowähä* and travels from this layer to *hada*, the place above where the souls of the departed continue to exist in an ethereal state, much in the same fashion as do the people on earth: gardening, hunting, and practicing magic.

The trail along which the *no bowähä* travel forks after it reaches *hada*. Sometimes, the Yąnomamö will point to the sky and explain that such and such a cloud *is* the *no bowähä* of a Yąnomamö who is just reaching *hada*. After the soul reaches the fork in the trail, a spirit, the son of Thunder (Yąru), Wadawadariwä, asks the *no bowähä* if it had been generous during its life on earth. If it had been stingy, Wadawadariwä directs the soul along the path that leads to *shabori suuka*, a place on *hada* where souls of stingy Yąnomamö burn eternally. Most of the Yąnomamö I questioned on this asserted that they planned to lie to Wadawadariwä and avoid going to *shabori suuka*. In general, they did not fear this place and were convinced that they would not be sent there. They expect Wadawadariwä to direct them to the trail that leads into *hada* proper.

Another portion of the soul, the *no ahadä* or *bore*, is released at cremation. This part of the soul remains on earth and wanders about in the jungle. The children who die always change into this, as they do not have the *no bowähä* portion that goes to *hada*. It must be acquired. The reason that children do not change into *no bowähä* is that their "wills" (*bahii*) are ignorant or innocent (*mahadä*). Thus, one has a character only after a certain amount of knowledge and experience are gained; with this, one develops a knowledgeable "will" and can expect to enter *hada* in the form of a *no bowähä*. Apart from this, one is born with an *ahadä* (*bore*), which is invariably released at cremation and wanders eternally in the jungle after death. Some of these wandering *ahadä* are malevolent and attack travelers in the jungle at night. When they do so, they use sticks and clubs. The Yąnomamö usually use the name *bore* when describing the attacks of these malevolent spirits, although this is just an alternate name for the *no ahadä*.

NORERU. Finally, each individual has a *noreburi*. This is a dual concept: One has a *noreburi* within his being, a sort of spirit or portion of the soul, and, in addition, an animal that lives in the jungle and corresponds to this soul. The *noreburi* animals are inher-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The noreshi animals are inherited patrilineally for men and matrilineally for women.[12] Kąobawä, for example, inherited his *noreshi* animal, the black monkey, from his father and transmitted it to his son. All his male kinsmen have the black monkey as their *noreshi*. Bahimi, Kąobawä's wife, has the dog for her *noreshi* animal, as does her mother and her daughter by Kąobawä. The *noreshi* animal of a woman always travels on the ground below the animal of the husband.

Noreshi animals duplicate the behavior of the person to whom they correspond. When Kąobawä goes hunting, so does his *noreshi* animal. When he is sick, so is his *noreshi* animal. If he takes a journey of two days, the animal likewise travels an equal distance, and so forth.

The *noreshi* animal and the person to whom it corresponds are always in complementary distribution. That is, they never come close to each other, for if they should see each other, they would both die. Their mutual existences are coextensive and coterminous: One lives only as long as the other, and both die at precisely the same instant. If a hunter should shoot Kąobawä's *noreshi* animal and kill it, Kąobawä would also be shot and would die. Similarly, if Kąobawä is shot by raiders and killed, his *noreshi* animal would suffer the same fate.

The soul aspect of the *noreshi*, however, can leave the human body at will and wander. Sickness results when the *noreshi* has left the body; unless it is brought back soon, the person will die. The *noreshi* is the vulnerable portion of the complete being, the part that is the target of witchcraft and harmful magic. The shamans (*shabori*) wage constant war against the evil demons (*hekura*) of enemy groups who have been sent to capture the *noreshi* parts of children. They, in turn, send their own *hekura* to capture the *noreshi* of enemy children; the wars that take place between men who raid to kill are likewise carried over into the domain of the supernatural.

When sickness is deemed to be the result of soul loss, the people who are closely related to the sick person hunt for his *noreshi*. I participated in one of these soul hunts. Kąobawä's group had set up a temporary camp across the river from its main village site, as they suspected raiders would attack them. While they were camped in their temporary village, one of the children became ill, and her malady was thought to be caused by soul loss. When the threat of raiders passed, the temporary camp was abandoned and the group moved back into the main village.

The child's condition worsened, so a group of women and children returned to the temporary camp, suspecting that the *noreshi* had remained there. I went along and, with the others, cut a branch from a shrub and began sweeping the site and calling for the *noreshi* to return. We swept the entire area and converged at one point. Everybody was convinced that the *noreshi* had been herded into this central point. We then lured the *noreshi* back across the river and into the body of the sick child.

The vulnerability of the *noreshi* to magical spells is best examplified by the fact that the shamans of every village spend most of their time chanting to the *hekura* (demons) with the intention of persuading them either to attack the *noreshi* of other (enemy) children or to drive off the *hekura* sent by enemy shamans. Again, the Yąnomamö used two of their concepts of the soul to describe photographs and tape recordings. They were very hostile to me when I attempted to take photographs, especially of children, because

[12]The inheritance of these "alter-ego" animals has nothing to do with marriage rules and patrilineage exogamy.

794 I, in effect, was capturing the *noreshi* of the child: A photograph was called *noreshi*.[13]
825 Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed
179 having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them
123 back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no uhudibi*, the part
126 of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *noreshi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

766 TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After
[389] several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yanomamö fear the smoke that is produced
[563] when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on
[783] contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

764 Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones
[783] are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and
[562] women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe
[858] carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter.
[237] For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the
[531] circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment.
[562] The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a
[531] long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and
[266] sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

769 About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with
266 boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of cere-
[726] monies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

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[13] Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968, SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

supplies soak the new leaves in water and add ashes from the hearth to the wad. Men, women, and children chew tobacco and all are addicted to it. Once there was a shortage of tobacco in Kaobawä's village and I was plagued for a week by early morning visitors who requested permission to collect my cigarette butts in order to make a wad of chewing tobacco. Normally, if anyone is short of tobacco, he can request a share of someone else's already chewed wad, or simply borrow the entire wad when its owner puts it down somewhere. Tobacco is so important to them that their word for "poverty" translates as "being without tobacco." I frequently justified my reluctance to give away possessions on the basis of my poverty. Many of them responded by spitting their tobacco into their hand and handing it to me.

Work begins as soon as breakfast is completed; the Yanomamö like to take advantage of the morning coolness. Within an hour after it is light the men are in their gardens clearing brush, felling large trees, transplanting plantain cuttings, burning off dead timber, or planting new crops of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, yuca, taro, or the like, depending on the season. They work until 10:30 A.M., retiring because it is too humid and hot by that time to continue with their strenuous work. Most of them bathe in the stream before returning to their hammocks for a rest and a meal.

The women usually accompany their husbands to the garden and occupy themselves by collecting firewood or helping with planting and weeding. In this way the men are sure that their families are safe and that the women are not having affairs with other men.

The children spend a great deal of time exploring the wonders of the plant and animal life around them and are accomplished biologists at an early age. Most twelve-year-old boys can, for example, name twenty species of bees and give the anatomical or behavioral reasons for their distinctions—and they know which ones produce the best honey. An eight-year-old girl brought me a tiny egg-like structure on one occasion and asked me to watch it with her. Presently it cracked open and numerous baby cockroaches poured out, while she described the intimate details of the reproductive process to me.

The younger children stay close to their mothers, but the older ones have considerable freedom to wander about the garden at play. Young boys hunt for lizards with miniature bows and featherless arrows. If they can capture one alive, they bring it back to the village and tie a string around it. The string is anchored to a stick in the village clearing and the little boys chase it gleefully, shooting scores of tiny arrows at it (see Fig. 3–8). Since lizards are very quick, and little boys are poor shots, the target practice can last for hours. Usually, however, the fun terminates when an older boy decides to make an end to the unhappy lizard and kills it with his adult-size arrows, showing off his archery skills to the disgruntled small fry.

Little girls learn very quickly that it is a man's world, for they soon must assume much of the responsibility for tending their younger siblings, hauling water and firewood, and in general helping their busy mothers.

Most of the people rest in their hammocks during the heat of midday, although they will collect fruits and other wild foods from the surrounding area, if any are in season. They avoid being in the direct rays of the midday sun.

If the men return to their gardening, they do so about 4:00 P.M., working until sundown. Otherwise, they gather in small groups around the village and take hallucinogenic drugs in the late afternoon shadows, chanting to the mountain demons as the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Bisaasi-teri, for example, wanted to get rid of the Monou-teri, they would hold a feast in their honor. When the going-home food was presented to them, they had no alternative but to leave. It would have been insulting to remain after the food was presented. In between their moves they returned to their own producing site to collect plantains and carry them to their new garden. They subsisted there off the food they carried with them.

The Monou-teri soon resented being treated like pariahs by their allies and began to regain their courage. Much of this treatment was due to the fact that they failed to chase the raiders when Damowã was slain, displaying cowardice instead of ferocity. Many of the men in the Bisaasi-teri groups resented the Monou-teri for this and were not timid about displaying their disgust. The Monou-teri were a burden, as they rarely helped at expanding Bisaasi-teri's gardens and ate a good deal of the time.

The raid Kąobawã organized to revenge Damowã's death took place late in April. The Shamatari allies—Mõŋaribõwri-teri and Reyabõwei-teri—were invited to participate, but they failed to send a contingency. As allies never really trust each other, the raid was delayed because some of the Bisaasi-teri suspected that their allies were waiting for the raiders to leave so that they could descend on the poorly protected women and make off with captives. Finally, a few of them did arrive and the *waya itow* (warrior line-up) got under way. Still, the Bisaasi-teri feared treachery on the part of their Shamatari friends, so the men of Lower Bisaasi-teri decided to stay home and protect the women left behind by the Monou-teri and Upper Bisaasi-teri raiders. A small feast was held to entertain the visiting Shamatari allies.

On the afternoon of the feast a grass dummy was set up in the village, and the men who were to participate in the raid conducted a mock attack on the dummy, which was supposed to represent the body of a Patanowã-teri man. They painted themselves black, crept slowly around the village with bows and arrows ready, searching for the tracks of the enemy. They converged at one point, spread out, crept toward the dummy, and, at Kąobawã's signal, let fly with a volley of arrows. The Yąnomamö are good archers. None of the arrows missed its mark, and the dummy, looking like a pincushion, toppled ominously to the ground, a dozen or more bamboo-tipped arrows protruding from it. Then the raiders screamed and ran out of the village, simulating their retreat from the enemy. They drifted back into the village, one at a time or in small groups, and retired to their hammocks to wait for darkness.

The village became unusually quiet shortly after dark. Suddenly, the stillness was pierced by an animal-like noise, half-scream and half-growl, as the first raider marched slowly out to the center of the village, clacking his arrows against his bow, growling his individualized fierce noise, usually a mimic of a carnivore: a wasp, or a buzzard. At this signal—not knowing fully what to expect and a little nervous—I crept from my own hammock and went to the center of the village with my tape recorder. The other raiders joined the first man, coming one at a time after short intervals, each clacking his arrows and growling some hideous noise. Kąobawã stood by and made sure the line was straight and faced the direction of the enemy; he would push or pull the individual warriors until they formed a perfectly straight line, joining them after the last one took his place.

The procession to the line-up took about twenty minutes, as about 50 or so men participated (see Fig. 5-2). When the last one was in line, the murmurs among the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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Fig. 5-2. Kaobawä's men and their allies lining up (waya iroa) *to raid the Patanowä-teri.*

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[123]
[533]
[825]

children and women died down and all was quiet in the village once again. I squatted there, unable to see what was going on, growing more nervous by the moment, half suspecting that the warriors were sneaking up on me to murder me for tape recording a sacred one. Then the silence was broken when a single man began singing in a deep baritone voice: "I am meat hungry! I am meat hungry! Like the carrion-eating buzzard I hunger for flesh!" When he completed the last line, the rest of the raiders repeated his song, ending in an ear-piercing, high-pitched scream that raised goose bumps all over my arms and scalp. A second chorus, led by the same man, followed the scream. This one referred to meat hunger of the kind characteristic of a particular species of carnivorous wasp. They screamed again, becoming distinctly more enraged. On the third chorus, they referred again to the buzzard's meat hunger, and a few men simultaneously interjected such descriptions of their ferocity as: "I'm so fierce that when I shoot the enemy my arrow will strike with such force that blood will splash all over the material possessions in his household!"

Then the line of warriors broke, and the men gathered into a tight formation, weapons held above their heads. They shouted three times, beginning modestly and increasing their volume until they reached a climax at the end of the third shout: "Whaaaa! Whaaaa! WHAAAA!" They listened as the jungle echoed back their last shout, identified by them as the spirit of the enemy. They noted the direction from which the echo came. On hearing it, they pranced about frantically, hissed and groaned, waving their weapons, until Kaobawä calmed them down, and the shouting was repeated two more times. At the end of the third shout of the third repetition, the formation broke,